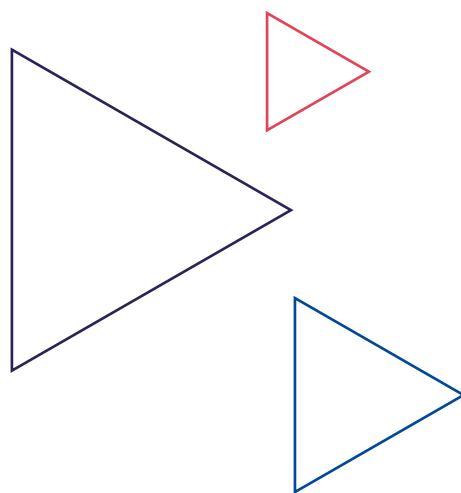




International
Labour
Organization

► Working conditions in prisons in Mongolia

Results from qualitative research



▶ **Working conditions in prisons in Mongolia**

Results from qualitative research

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► Introduction

Mongolia is party to the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105). Convention No. 29 sets out specific requirements for the employment of prisoners. When properly organized, voluntary vocational rehabilitation and employment in prisons can bring benefits to inmates, including enhanced employability and easier work reintegration on release. However, any work or service exacted from any person as a consequence of a conviction in a court of law, which is not carried out under the supervision and control of a public authority, or in which the person is hired by or placed at the disposal of private individuals, companies or associations, constitutes a violation of Convention No. 29.

In 2024, the ILO and the National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia (NHRCM) conducted a study on prison labour and employment conditions of convicts in Mongolia to assess compliance with ILO Conventions No. 29 and No. 105. Field research was carried out in 2021–22 in 11 out of 21 prisons across Mongolia, including open and closed prisons, a prison with inmates serving life sentences and a juvenile training and correction facility. Findings suggest that progress has been made with respect to the legislative framework and specialized regulations. Moreover, results indicate that the overwhelmingly majority of prisoners (92 per cent) had been working, and most indicated that they had been doing so voluntarily. However, only 55 per cent of those working had signed an employment contract with a prison or contractor. A small share (6.4 per cent) of the interviewed prisoners worked outside their prison, under contract with private organizations. While most of those who did so (89 per cent) were supervised by prison staff, in some instances they were supervised by private guards (1 per cent) or in conjunction with private entities (7.8 per cent), which raises questions about compliance with Convention No. 29.

The present qualitative research aims to complement these findings by learning from former convicts, who might express their views more freely than those currently in prisons. In-depth interviews were conducted among 20 formerly incarcerated individuals who had been convicted and served prison sentences. To ensure geographical variation, the research team collaborated with community workers of seven *khoroos*¹ of Sukhbaatar, Chingeltei (the central districts), and Songinokhairkhan, a suburban district. An attempt was made to recruit participants from a place other than Ulaanbaatar, Umnugobi aimag, but this was unsuccessful. Community workers were asked to distribute information about the research (research goals, who could participate, contact information) to citizens of the administrative units and to arrange interviews with respondents. All interviews were conducted online, as interviewees preferred it.

Interview guidelines were developed to assess the characteristics and conditions of prison work. In particular, the research focused on whether there was any discrimination in work assignments, the types of work and workplaces, and the final use of goods produced. Questions about working conditions were developed to learn about conditions of workplaces, working hours, salary and benefits, and labour safety and risks.

Given the small number of respondents, the results are not representative of the prison population. Nevertheless, the in-depth interviews provide important insights into the experience of these individuals and shed light on the use of prison labour. Moreover, they

¹ Khoroo is the smallest administrative unit of districts in Ulaanbaatar.

complement the quantitative research conducted by the ILO and the NHRCM. This qualitative research in fact reveals that none of those interviewed worked during their pre-trial detention and that they were not charged with strikes, political crimes or labour discipline. Moreover, the results indicate that prisoners prefer working outside the prison for private enterprises and individuals due to the opportunity of being released earlier, and because they feel it is better than staying inside the prison. However, most did not enjoy the workplace conditions, work hours, salaries and safety conditions. Risks and dangers were high for construction, logging, woodworking and wood crafting. A couple of interviewees revealed that they witnessed severe injuries to others, causing permanent disabilities. In addition to risks and dangers, there are health-threatening conditions such as humidity and dust.

► 1. Methodology

The qualitative survey was designed to cover about 20 formerly incarcerated individuals. Most of the interviewees were released two to five years ago; there are a few cases of interviewees being released six years ago.

A guideline was prepared for an in-depth interview to gather information about work during their imprisonment. The data collection of the qualitative survey was conducted from 19 February to 9 March 2024.

The research team collaborated with community workers of seven khoroos in Sukhbaatar (SBD), Chingeltei (CHD), and Songinokhairkhan (SHD) districts and Umnugobi (UM) aimag. Information was distributed about the research (research goals, who can participate, contact information) to citizens of the administrative units. Following the advertisement, 52 interested citizens contacted the community workers for more information about the research.

After the first inquiry, 20 individuals were not interested in participating in the survey, while 32 individuals contacted the research team for more information (see table 1). However, after receiving this information 12 individuals refused to participate in the survey. Overall, these individuals were very cautious and reluctant to have direct contact. The research team proposed several interview methods: face-to-face, online and by phone. All the individuals preferred online interviews rather than face-to-face or phone interviews. Twenty individuals were successfully interviewed about their work during their imprisonment. The interviews lasted between 25 and 45 minutes.

► **Table 1. Coverage of the study: Individuals participation**

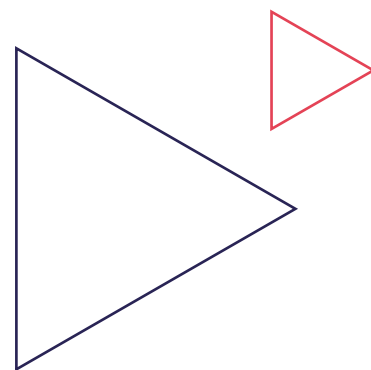
	District							Umnugobi aimag	All
	Sukhbaatar				Chingeltei		Songinokhairkhan		
Khoroo ID	9	10	18	20	11	12	24		
Not interested	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	5	20
Refused	3	1	1	2	1	3	0	1	12
Participated	2	3	3	2	4	0	4	2	20
Total	6	7	6	7	6	6	6	8	52

Given the small number of respondents, the results cannot be considered representative of the prison population. Nevertheless, the in-depth interviews provide important insights into the experience of these individuals and shed light on the use of prison labour.

► 2. General characteristics

Table 2 shows detailed general characteristics of the interviewees. Half of the interviewees are educated to high school standard, five are undergraduates, three are in technical education, one is in secondary education, and one is uneducated. Most of the interviewees are Khalkh, the main ethnic group in Mongolia. Convictions for violation of public order are the most common among the interviewees. Three of the interviewees were convicted when they were high school students;¹ two were convicted just after their high school graduation, two were undergraduate students, and others were employed in various jobs before being convicted.

All interviewees were sentenced to prison. None of them worked during their pre-trial detention. They were convicted of crimes and were not charged with strikes, political crimes, or labour discipline. One of the interviewees said he was falsely charged with the crime and imprisoned while he appealed to the Supreme Court. A couple of interviewees refused to talk about their convictions.



¹ Only one of them was in juvenile facilities when he was 16, and he was 25 years old by the time of the interview. He said he had stayed in juvenile facilities for two years, and one year in regular prison. He said he did work when he was in juvenile facilities, but it was not possible to assess the activities in which he was involved (whether household work or economic activities), so it was not possible to assess whether he was involved in child labour. Two interviewees had been about to graduate from high school and so were 18 years old when they were convicted.

► Table 2. General characteristics of interviewees

ID	Age	Education level	Conviction	Ethnic group
1	37	Undergraduate	Fraud	Other
2	30	Secondary	Violation of public order	Khalkh
3	26	Undergraduate	Not available	Khalkh
4	26	Undergraduate	Assault	Khalkh
5	21	High school	Violation of public order	Khalkh
6	39	No education	Murder	Other
7	24	High school	Violation of public order	Khalkh
8	23	Technical	Car accident	Khalkh
9	26	High school	Fraud	Khalkh
10	21	High school	Violation of public order	Khalkh
11	27	Technical	Violation of public order	Other
12	28	Undergraduate	Robbery	Khalkh
13	25	High school	Online fraud	Other
14	32	High school	Support for human trafficking	Khalkh
15	22	Technical	Knife crime	Khalkh
16	23	High school	Drunkenness	Khalkh
17	23	High school	Not available	Khalkh
18	26	Undergraduate	Violation of public order, drunkenness	Khalkh
19	24	High school	Robbery	Khalkh
20	23	High school	Gang robbery	Khalkh

► 3. Work characteristics

All interviewees worked while they were in prison. Most (15 out of 20) reported that they worked by assignment on the part of the prison management (see table 3). Five interviewees said they worked because they wanted to. A more detailed pattern can be seen in how they responded to a question about whether they had ever stopped working after they started. Seven of the 15 interviewees who responded that they were assigned work said that opting out of work was impossible and punishable. Punishments include hitting, reducing food, and banning visits from family.

► Table 3. Location and consent to work

	Number of prisoners	Work in prison	Number of prisoners
Worked outside the prison	14	Assigned	12
		Volunteered	2
Worked inside the prison	6	Assigned	3
		Volunteered	3

The other interviewees and those who worked at their own request said they did not want to stop or opt out of work after they started working. Stopping work would result in losing the opportunity to be released earlier and spend time outside, which is preferable for most prisoners. Early release of prisoners based on their work in prison is regulated by Articles 223 (Incentives and rewards for prisoners) and 224 (bonus days of the prisoner) of the Law on Enforcement of Court Decision.

■ ■ I was assigned to work in the kitchen. The work conditions were difficult for my heart as the kitchen was hot, and I had to stand all day. It was difficult for me as I had shortness of breath. I was under medical monitoring due to my heart problem. So I discussed my problem with a doctor and changed my work. A supervisor called me to his room and hit me for being oversensitive.”

►► The other prisoners and I never refused to work once we started. We feared that if we opted out of work the next job would not be available, and we would lose our opportunity to be released earlier. Also, being outside and doing work is much better than staying inside, which is stressful and unpleasant. We used to work even when we were injured, hiding our injuries.”

Although there was no discrimination in job assignments because of ethnicity or religion, there was discrimination because of family background, physical strength, and prisoners’ duration in prison. Almost half the interviewees clearly said there was discrimination due to family background. According to them, prisoners from wealthy families are treated differently and assigned to easier work. Some said those prisoners from wealthy families could be released earlier without doing any work.

A few of the interviewees said they witnessed discrimination because of physical strength and length of time in prison.

►► There was discrimination because of your body. I was always assigned to jobs requiring physical strength as I was tall and strong. It was difficult.”

►► Prisoners who have stayed in that prison for a long time have built good relationships with supervisors. They used to be assigned to jobs with easier tasks and could rest during work.”

More than half (12) of interviewees said there were advantages to working in prison. The advantages mentioned were the opportunity to be released earlier, earning money, the fact that being outside is more peaceful and time passes quickly, and having work experience. Most of them said the opportunity to be released earlier is advantageous. Furthermore, nine out of those interviewees who said there were advantages said working while being imprisoned helped them to get jobs after they were released. They said it helped them because they became more experienced and patient and improved their skills. In a couple of cases interviewees were doing the same work after their release.

The number of work types reported by interviewees was 22. Most interviewees (13) did more than one type of work. Three out of the 20 interviewees reported doing five types of work, the maximum number of work types, while seven did only one type of work during their stay in prison.

The most common types of work are construction (9), logging and woodworking (5), and farming (5). Other types of work are cleaning, road construction, animal husbandry, production of building materials, coal sacking, tailoring and wood crafting. There was one case of working in emergencies such as floods and fires. Also, there was one case of elementary work, which required only one hour per day and did not require heavy duties.

The interviewees were asked if they worked outside the prison while they were imprisoned. Most of them said they worked outside the prison (see table 4). Outside work included construction, farming, logging and woodworking. Six out of 14 interviewees who reported they worked outside the prison said they worked for private enterprises and individuals. In some instances prisoners were unaware of who they worked for as the guards did not tell them. For example, six interviewees reported incidences where they were unsure whether they worked for private companies or individuals. Five of them said they did not work for private companies. One worked for an individual, and four did public works, such as public construction and emergency works.

Six interviewees were unsure about the employing bodies of some work they did outside the prison. These were mainly works for road construction. There are both state-owned and privately-owned road companies in Mongolia, so it is difficult to distinguish whether working in road construction is for private or public enterprise. Also, some work outside the prison, such as farming and preparing of logs and wood, was sometimes used for prison consumption and sometimes for private companies.

There were factories and carpentry shops where wood crafts and metalworks were made for sale. Also, there was a factory for building materials where bricks were made for sale. These are like factories run by big companies.”

The yurts we used to make were for sale. Once, a prison officer said they received some orders of yurts from individuals. So, the yurts we make were for sale.”

► Table 4. Employers of prisoners who worked outside the prison

Employing body	Number of prisoners
Private enterprises	6
Individuals	1
Government	4
Unclear or did not know	6

Note: There is overlap between the categories, so the total number of prisoners exceeds 14, which is the number of interviewees who said they worked outside prison.

A question was asked about the final use of goods produced by the prisoners. Seven interviewees clearly stated that products were for sale. Three interviewees crafted wood for Ger, the traditional Mongolian yurt. According to them, there are carpentry shops inside the prisons where prisoners make all parts of traditional yurts, and that these yurts made by prisoners were for sale.

Two interviewees worked in producing building materials of bricks and blocks. They said there were factories of building materials inside the prison. One of them clearly said that these bricks were for sale.

A couple of interviewees reported working for the private use of prison staff. One of them said some logs and wood they prepared were used for the private use of prison management. Furthermore, prison staff used to ask prisoners who did wood crafting for household or gift items.

All interviewees stated that prison guards supervised them while they worked inside and outside the prison. According to the interviewees, one guard was assigned for every three to five prisoners working outside the prison.

■ ■ I tried to opt out of working in animal husbandry as I had no experience. However, the supervisor told me it was not to be decided by me, and I had to do any work as I was fed from public funds.”

► 4. Working conditions

Workplace conditions were difficult for almost all interviewees. A couple of interviewees who worked inside the prison in sewing shops and room maintenance reported good workplace conditions. Interviewees who worked preparing logs and wood and did wood crafting for making yurts stated that workplace conditions were difficult. When they prepared logs and wood, they had to be in the mountains and work for a long time without rest. Many interviewees who worked in logging and woodwork said the most difficult things were having only one meal per day and no toilet while working in the mountains. Those who did wood crafting for yurts said that the unhealthy condition of the carpentry shop was difficult for them. The place was very dusty, and the prison management did not provide masks for prisoners who worked in the shop.

4.1. Labour safety and health

Almost all interviewees said the main disadvantages of working while imprisoned were unsafe work and workplace conditions. Although some interviewees were positive about working in prison, almost all of them expressed that labour safety was unsatisfactory, and many of them had incidents of minor injuries. A few of the interviewees witnessed severe injuries causing permanent disabilities in others.

Although access to medical services was available, their quality and medical supplies varied, depending on which prison the interviewees were in. Some interviewees were satisfied with the medical services they received while in prison, but some of them said doctors did not treat minor injuries and did not supply necessary medicaments so that they had to ask their families to bring medicaments. When prisoners had severe injuries and illnesses, they were hospitalized.

Interviewees who worked in construction, carpentry shops and factories where workplace safety should be reported were regularly asked to sign labour safety instructions before they started their work. However, it was common for labour safety in the workplace to be unsatisfactory. Some interviewees said specialized staff took labour safety measures seriously in the prisons where they were. Most of the interviewees said they faced risks and dangers in workplaces, especially in logging and woodwork, road construction and construction works. It was also common for prison management, private enterprises or individuals who hired prisoners not to provide them with appropriate work clothing and tools.

In addition to risks and dangers in workplaces, there were health-threatening conditions that caused severe illnesses such as tuberculosis and severe allergic reactions to dust. One of the interviewees was hospitalized as he was infected with tuberculosis. According to him, the causes were humidity in the workplace, tiredness due to long working hours, and poor diet in prison. Another interviewee witnessed two of his inmates hospitalized as they had severe allergic reactions after cleaning newly built houses where the dust was unbearable.

All interviewees reported that there was no training before work started. For some of them, training was not required as the work did not require special skills. According to them, training was unnecessary for assisting in construction works, harvesting, sacking coal, and preparing logs and wood. In some prisons, staff asked prisoners about their previous experience and assigned work in accordance with that experience. Interviewees who did work that required special skills said they learned by watching and doing; they said that this is common among prisoners. One interviewee learned wood crafting by watching experienced workers in the carpentry shop.

All interviewees stated they did not sign any job contract for their work. The only document they used to sign was labour safety instructions. Some interviewees were told about types of work, hours and salaries, but some received no information about the work they were going to do.

►► The most difficult task was preparing logs and woods in the mountains. We could not eat and drink much. We used to be very thirsty and hungry. If I ever meet him, I want to thank an old person who used to bring us food when we worked. Plus, there was no toilet, and prison staff did not let us go for a rest.”

►► Labour safety is becoming an important issue in modern times. However, it is very problematic in prison. They did not even provide us with the necessary tools. For example, when they assigned us to sack coal, they provided only two shovels among ten prisoners. Plus, they did not provide us with work gloves.”

►► There are advantages to working in prison. We will be able to be released earlier. We used to hide our injuries when we were working on construction sites, fearing that we would not be able to work outside again. Some prisoners hid even their serious injuries.”

4.2. Work hours

Interviewees' work hours were very long: only four out of 20 reported working five to six days per week; the rest reported working seven days per week. Their daily work hours were ten on average (minimum one hour and maximum 18 hours). Six interviewees reported working 12 hours per day.

The average duration of work was 15.6 months; between one and 60 months, depending on the length of time in prison. Most interviewees said they worked without any breaks during their stay in prison.

►► We used to work for 10 hours per day. The prison staff would not let us work if we asked about salary and work hours. So we stayed quiet to be able to work outside prison, as it would allow us to be released earlier. Time passes fast when we work hard outside the prison.”

►► Working long hours was tough for us. Some prisoners got weak and could not carry bricks when they were tired. I saw a person with a fever, and he was exhausted. He did not want to let anyone know about it as he was afraid that prison staff would stop him from working. Working is very important for prisoners.”

4.3. Salary and benefits

It can be concluded that prison work is mainly unpaid as there were only four cases of paid work (300,000 to 600,000 MNT per month) among the study participants. Nine out of 20 interviewees did not get paid for their work, while some were paid small amounts such as 20,000 MNT monthly, or 35,000 MNT for three months.

The most important incentive is the opportunity to be released earlier. Some interviewees said that if a prisoner works for one month, his duration in prison will be reduced by 10 days. This applies to only prisoners with light sentences. Prison authorities can cancel the number of reduced days when prisoners behave badly. Eight interviewees said they were released earlier as a bonus for their work in prison. Two interviewees could not get this benefit because they had conflicts with inmates.

It was very common among interviewees to be unaware of salaries and benefits. Some said they were told they would be paid a salary at the national minimum wage rate, but the payment was too small for that rate. The same was true for the opportunity to be released earlier; some interviewees were clear about the number of days that had been reduced due to their work, while others were unclear about it.

►► The most important incentive for work is to be released earlier. I got out five months earlier as a bonus for work done in prison. It was very important. Prison staff do not need to ask prisoners if they want to work or not. All prisoners want to work to be released earlier.”

►► I did construction work when I was imprisoned without salary. After the release, I did the same work and was paid 180,000 MNT daily.”

►► I was not informed about the bonus of being released earlier if I work and behave well. So, I could get this benefit. I only realized about that kind of opportunity when I had a fight with an inmate and got punished for it. I felt betrayed. Prison management should be clear about the terms and conditions of work. They should inform us of all the possibilities and benefits of work.”

Most of the interviewees were positive about working in prison. They thought it was crucial as it allowed them to learn new skills, be released earlier, have peace of mind, earn a salary, and obtain new experiences. However, there were things to improve, such as assurance of labour safety, clear terms and conditions of salary and work hours, and necessary training. Most of the interviewees who supported working in prison mentioned assurance of labour safety.

Only a couple of interviewees were not willing to work. They said more training and counselling services should be offered instead of work. According to them, prisoners need to be prepared for life and career after prison while they are imprisoned.

The interviewees were asked if they knew they should be asked when they needed to work for private enterprises and individuals. Only one interviewee said prison staff used to ask for prisoners' consent to work for private enterprises and individuals. A couple of interviewees said they were informed about their rights in prison. One of them received information during a workshop organized by the Human Rights Commission; the other received the information from a prison official. Four interviewees reported that they had known about their rights before being imprisoned. However, they said nothing could have been done, even if they knew about their rights, when they were in prison. The rest of the interviewees stated they did not know about their right to be asked for their consent to work for private enterprises and individuals. According to some interviewees, work for private enterprises and individuals is in high demand by prisoners, as they will be paid and spend time outside the prison.

■ ■ I used to do some tailoring work while I was in prison. I learned to sew shirts, pants, and mittens. While working in prison, I obtained new skills and learned about labour and business relations, which helped me find a job after I got out of prison.”

■ ■ I was convicted of fraud. After my release, I had to compensate the victims. The system should have allowed me to work well and earn compensation money. The only benefit of working was to be released earlier. I could not get this benefit. I used to be paid 27,000 to 35,000 MNT for three months' work.”

► 5. Conclusions

While these conclusions must be interpreted with caution given that they are the results of interviews with a small sample of individuals, they raise concerns about compliance with ILO Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 in Mongolia's prisons.

All interviewees were convicted with prison sentences. None of them worked during their pre-trial detention and they were not charged for strikes, political crimes or labour discipline. All of them worked during their imprisonment. None of the interviewees reported having given verbal or written consent to work.

Most interviewees (15) reported that they worked during their time in prison through being assigned to do so by the prison management, while five said they worked because they wanted to. Opting out of work was impossible and punishable. Punishments include hitting, reducing food, and banning visits from family.

Although there was no discrimination in job assignments because of ethnicity or religion, there was discrimination due to family background, physical strength, and duration in prison. Almost half the interviewees clearly said there was discrimination due to family background.

Most interviewees said that the opportunity to be released earlier is an advantage of working in prison. Furthermore, working while being imprisoned helped some interviewees get jobs after they were released. They said it helped them because they became more experienced and patient, and improved their skills. There were a couple of cases of doing the same work after the release. Moreover, working helped the prisoners find peace of mind and pass the time quickly.

The most common types of work were construction, logging, woodworking and farming. Other work included cleaning, road construction, animal husbandry, production of building materials, coal sacking, tailoring and wood crafting. There were cases of working in emergency situations of flood and fire.

Most of the interviewees worked outside the prison (14 out of 20) and seven of them reported working for private enterprises and individuals, with goods produced for sale; some (6) were unaware who they worked for. All interviewees reported that they were guarded and supervised by prison guards when they worked outside the prison. According to these interviewees, there were carpentry shops for making traditional yurts and factories for building bricks, which are for sale.

Workplace conditions were difficult for almost all interviewees. A couple of interviewees who worked inside the prison in sewing shops and room maintenance reported good workplace conditions. Interviewees who prepared logs and wood and crafted wood for making yurts stated that workplace conditions were difficult. When they prepared logs and wood, they had to stay in the mountains and work for long periods without rest.

Labour safety in prison workplaces is a serious issue. A couple of interviewees said labour safety measures were taken seriously by specialized staff, but most interviewees said they faced workplace risks and dangers, especially in logging and woodwork, road construction, and construction works. Furthermore, it was common for prison management and private enterprises that hired prisoners to not provide them with appropriate work clothing and tools.

Work hours were very long for the interviewees: only four out of 20 reported working five to six days per week; the rest reported working seven days per week. Their work hours per day were 10 hours on average (minimum one hour and maximum 18 hours). Six interviewees reported working 12 hours per day.

It can be concluded that prison work is unpaid, as there were only four cases of paid work (300,000 to 600,000 MNT per month) among the study participants. Nine out of 20 interviewees did not get paid for their work. Some were paid very small amounts, such as 20,000 MNT per month, or 35,000 MNT for three months. Interviewees emphasized the benefit of being released earlier, rather than the salaries.

Most of the interviewees were positive about working in prison. They thought it was crucial as it allowed them to learn new skills, be released earlier, have peace of mind, earn a salary, and obtain new experiences. However, there were things to improve, such as assurance of labour safety, clear terms and conditions of salary and work hours, and necessary training.

► Annex: Interview guidelines

The purpose of this interview is to learn about working conditions in prisons in Mongolia, and the work and employment status of prisoners.

The information provided in the interview will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with the Privacy Act and will only be used for the purpose of the research results.

Notes for researchers

- For face-to-face interviews, the researcher will conduct the interviews and take notes.
- The duration of the interview is 30–40 minutes.
- The researcher will record the interview with a tape recorder. In doing so, the participants in the research will be told in advance and consent must be obtained.
- The researcher will pay attention to choosing an environment and time in which the interview can be conducted in open and free ways.
- Before starting the interview, the researcher may ask and elicit answers that are not relevant to the study in order to “break the ice”.
- Interviewees may choose not to answer questions and may end the interview at any time.

General information

- Where the interview took place
- Researcher’s name
- Date of interview
- Duration of conversation

Prisoners’ interview guidelines

Participant’s information

1. General information on the research participant
 - a. Age, gender, education?
 - b. Information about imprisonment (conviction) and, if possible, information about the charges?

Probes

- i. On imprisonment: Administrative without trial/pre-trial detention/conviction with or without prison sentence?
- ii. On charges: for strike/political crimes/labour discipline/means of discrimination?
- c. How did you make a living before you were imprisoned? What was your job?
- d. Ethnicity and religion?

Work arrangements

1. Have you ever worked while in prison?
 - a. Have you asked to work?
 - b. Or is it an assignment from management?
 - i. Have you ever felt that you were assigned to the job or discriminated in that job/tasks because of your ethnicity/religion or of any other specific reason? (explain the reason)
 - ii. Could you refuse to take the job?
2. Have you ever stopped working after you started?
 - a. If so, what was the reason for stopping?
 - b. Is it possible to opt out?
3. Why did you work?
 - a. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working?
 - b. Do you think working while serving a prison term helped you get a job when you got out?

Working conditions

1. What kind of work did you do? What was your role/tasks?
2. Did you sign a written contract for that job?
 - a. If so, have you familiarized yourself with the terms and conditions specified in the contract and have you fully understood the terms?
 - b. Have the terms of the contract been met?
 - c. If you did not sign a contract, have you received any information about working conditions (working hours, salary, etc.)? Where did you get the information?
3. Where did you do the work?
 - a. Probes: within/outside the prison

4. Have you worked for a private enterprise, individual, or NGO that contracts with a prison?
5. What was the final use of the goods produced with your work?
 - a. Probes: used in the same prison/in another prison/sold in the market
6. Did you undergo any training before doing the job?
7. Have you done similar work since release?
8. What were the working conditions like?
 - a. Workplace conditions
 - b. Vacation
 - c. Provision of food and accommodation
9. Were you paid for your work, how much was paid, and how were you paid?
 - a. Hourly wages
 - b. Monthly salary
 - c. How much money did you have in savings when you were released?
 - d. By cash, bank account, commodity
 - e. Other terms such as conviction relief
10. How long have you worked? What was the schedule?
 - a. How long – total duration?
 - b. How many days of the week did you work?
 - c. How many hours a day did you work?
11. Who instructed and supervised your work?
 - a. Probes: prison staff/other (who?)
12. Was there any type of risk or danger in the work? If so, what were the risks? Have you ever been injured?
13. What is the possibility of medical care and advice from the prison? Have you ever received it?
14. Were you provided safety instructions for work? Were you provided appropriate work clothing and tools?
15. Do you know of other inmates who has been working during imprisonment? Please tell us about their work.
 - a. Tasks
 - b. Work done inside/outside the prison/for private enterprise, individual or NGO

- c. Who supervises their work
 - d. Contract
 - e. Wage
 - f. Working hours
- 16. How do you think the working conditions in prisons are compared to the working conditions of other ordinary people?
 - a. Workplace conditions
 - b. Wages
 - c. Obtaining professional skills
- 17. Do you think prison labour is necessary?
- 18. Were you asked for your consent when you worked outside the prison (for private enterprises, individuals, NGOs)? Did you have any legal knowledge about this type of work outside the prison?

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